

**ISGQ-2003-M0004560 (begins in progress)**

- Male 1 ...explain it to him. If the person in question were the Secretary General, it would be explained to him that, if any of the people in question didn't understand the important things, they would come [Inaudible] to a mandatory dinner. Not only mandatory but timely as well [TC: Laughter].
- Male 2 Sir, move from there.
- Male 1 [Inaudible] ... the high spirit, this place to sleep, I mean a barbeque place. So, if not all of the people in question understand me completely, they will return. All the people I'm talking about are here at this meeting. They tell me for example, as the President, as the Cabinet Chair, Secretary General, they say to me, "What do you mean?" because he is the minister. Then he picks up a phone and calls a minister to clarify or tell him what he is seeking. Write, or he writes by his hand, and he says to him, this is the target. After the target becomes clear, the comrade in question meets with his military staff. Who is his military staff? If it was the intention of accommodating the party then secretaries of the secret branches meet. He explains to them the decision and the directive completely then indicates the essential target. Then he says to them, "I have this picture in my head of how to implement the decision." They conduct discussions about the idea; the governor to the military staff is in his province or the other addresses in question. After he, whoever decided the main target, sets the goal and explains the backgrounds that deal with the matter, he sets a plan to implement the matter or the directive or the decision or the law. Because the law comes outlined as well. So we must say to the ministers in question executing this. This means every minister must submit a plan to execute this by writing it out. Written not spoken, except what doesn't relate to it national security. Why is it written or why is it in a memo? God willing the cabinet will affirm the same thing. Lets go eat dinner and return, ok.
- Male 2 Sir the business community has power outages.
- Male 1 Let them see just so they know their groups of notebooks and notes. Let everything be as it is. The decision is so.
- Male 2 [Inaudible]
- Male 3 These are the papers that you wanted, your Excellency. Perhaps 800 total, maybe 600. [Inaudible]
- Male 1 They didn't say anything about the different matters. It means they considered the issue that you talked about... [Inaudible] (715)
- Male 3 Great Sir, if Basra, `Amara, Al-Nasiriyyah. Your Excellency remembers Al-Misan and Al-Hathar and when you go out for irrigation and the tribes would celebrate. This year the cultured, the educated, and the professionals went out to the countryside. They are the ones that collected the crops. This is part of the wealth of hands-on work. Teachers harvesting, students harvesting, they nurture, they learn. [Inaudible] We didn't leave...[Inaudible]. The party, we are from the south, and our friends, we did this from the beginning, even before the directives were issued. The deputy general of the regional command would inform us, even the committees that issue what's in the party. At first it wasn't issued, there wasn't a party name. I informed him, I told him look at the Cabinet, the party representative [Inaudible] committees. So later they do a memo, God willing, sir.
- Male 1 I'll explain to you all, according to Comrade Tariq, about the council's last decision after the visit to Iraq. It isn't a decision. It's a report to the Security Council after the visit to Iraq and the position that we must take. A meeting happened on a political level.

Comrade Tariq, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Industry, and the Minister of the Military Industrial Organization were the comrades in the group that evaluated the report.

Male 4 (1440)

Comrades, remember the leadership's decision when we discussed the position completely. The direction that the leadership reached is to ask Ekeus to close the files, the files which [Inaudible]. So is it's closed and the security council is informed of it. This opens the scope of [Inaudible] and that didn't do that. So it is necessary that we study the position and act [Inaudible].

...In meeting with the special committee. It's on Ekeus to organize an objective that explains the situation as it is and that the game of opening files stops. We put together the report that Ekeus submitted. Me and the Foreign Minister and the Russian Foreign Minister; we held a joint meeting to understand what we had accomplished. What Ekeus told the security council concerning the missile, chemical, and grave files. What he told them was at least satisfactory. He used his own language, not ours, but he said Iraq did what they were able to do as far as missiles and chemical that have to deal with resolution 687 and article 28. What's left doesn't effect this evaluation and can be dealt with later. Our joint evaluation with the Russians was considered enough to meet the minimum requirement. Then the New York reports came out about the council meeting. The people who helped this position are the Americans and the British. I mean, the evaluation is positive and has been accomplished. So we are submitting this report to the president in a meeting on Thursday. And we were asked to take a position. If this issue is positive, we have to bring Ekeus here to finish the remaining issues. First of all, this file should be closed quickly and we are in agreement with the Russians. We also spoke through the media about it. When Ekeus comes we'll negotiate with him about the remaining point.

Male 1 Putting forth the explanation of the 17 tons of agricultural goods in the field of biology. What are the limitations for? Not all of the biology fields, we have to give Ekeus a convincing explanation, explaining the 17 tons out of 34 tons.

Male 4 Sir, this amount isn't taken into account from it and, subsequently, we got a confirmation for 17 tons. We will speak with him about this subject. But this subject can be concluded quickly. This isn't a subject we dragged our feet on from beginning to end, like how we dragged our feet on the last files. So if you're ready we're ready. It's necessary that we know if this subject has slowed down [Inaudible]. We cooperate with you with our efforts and money so you can lift the embargo off of us. If the embargo weren't going to be lifted off of our people, we aren't ready to work with them. What reasons would we have to work with them?  
When he was talking to the security Council, he was asked about how long it would take if the Iraqis cooperate. He said we could give you an answer because we have the information available. And like you saw, sir, we don't have any import problems in the biological, it's not as complicated as the chemicals or missile programs. I mean, you can buy something from Bulgaria, India or Russia that has a complicated mixture. An investigation might start for legitimate reasons or just to delay things. The Special Committee can take some time in this matter. It is well known where we bought the 17 tons from [Inaudible]. So this can be done within weeks with [Inaudible]. The other thing is, when we present our explanations about the different uses, there will be demands to destroy chemical equipment. We will assure him that no more equipment will be built. If there are any [Inaudible] to destroy some machines, it should be delayed until confirming the step. Meaning, when we are sure that article 22 will happen [Inaudible].

Right now the subject stands on [Inaudible] the subject of destroying is a red line. Sir

President, agreed on this implementation with its red lines [Inaudible] Ekeus. I expect him to come on the 30<sup>th</sup> of the month. [Inaudible] most of it is positive, like, the people just as we expected, Iraq's friends. [Inaudible] and they considered the chemical missiles file is finished. This is a figurative statement. The Russians today... the Russian Ambassador and I found a letter [Inaudible]. The letter says following up and working on the agreement to look into the report submitted by the Special Committee to the Security Council on the 19<sup>th</sup>. The Russian side is evaluating what was in the report about a clear record of the closing of the chemical file. The results about the returns in the [Inaudible] program. And as a result of the steps that we took from five different countries and work that we've done with Ekeus so [Inaudible], the subject matter in the field of missiles and chemicals files, which were closed and was assured to be offline because of the Iraqi cooperation with the special committee which complies with the request of resolution 606. The remaining issues are not important like the report says, and do not affect things in the chemical and missiles field. We consider the report a positive decision for Baghdad's cooperation. It's transitional phase that allows the implantation of 22 of resolution 687 that discusses the oil issues, when the time is right. The only thing stopping us from doing that is the unresolved biological file. [Inaudible] that aims to implement resolution 687 that will lead to lifting the oil embargo and eventually all the sanctions. So the Iraqi side should present information about the biological program quickly. And that would be in accordance with the agreement with Iraq about implementing 687. On June 20<sup>th</sup>, Ekeus said that if Iraq presented the required information, the information section in the special committee would analyze it relatively fast. And that accomplishes [Inaudible] so the Special Committee can delay reaching a conclusion about the biological program and closing the file for good. But at a minimum, the Iraqis should give the Special Committee all the necessary information about the biological program. [Inaudible] we'll play their game and give them the completed information [Inaudible] without any delay. The Russian side is waiting for more action today and is confident that this is the shortest way to comply with 687. We should move the French in the security council and propose lifting the oil embargo without any additional conditions [Inaudible]. I thanked him for their continued support [Inaudible] and we presented to the president and the leadership. The president confirmed our joint evaluation that says there are positive signs in the report about the chemical missiles and monitoring issues. I told him that the decision was made based on Ekeus' initiative to try and close the file. And we will reaffirm the importance of a quick resolution for this file. We believe that closing this file quickly is possible if the Special Committee was subjective and practical and worked with no delays. I told him that we're hoping that the Russian side would follow up on this subject, that a quick resolution is necessary, and that Russia should influence the other countries in the security council. [Inaudible] he's the only one who said in the meeting that this is taking too long.

Male 1 They have set a trap.

Male 4 Yes, I told the Russians to watch what they're saying and get ready for the session because the American Representative in the Security Council says that the case is being stalled. Why is he saying that? That's Ekeus' job.

Male 1 When they want to hide behind Ekeus, they say we are waiting. We're not supposed to discuss a matter if Ekeus doesn't submit a report. But once they want to make decisions on their own, they immediately give decisive answers for some.

Male 4 But this is America's position. The British come close to it as well but most of the council members aren't for... like he tells you he's the one who wants to tell him that the head of the Special Committee agrees and lets see where this will lead us. In our case, that's the entire matter. When he submitted the chemical file after the closed door

meeting two years ago, it meant that he was going to come to us and say, "Destroy 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6." The other side is that when the search committee began in '91, we didn't have anything biological. We only had missiles and an excess of very large chemical materials on hand but nothing biological on hand. [Inaudible] friends since '90. All the places that they searched they didn't find biological activity so they closed the file. Ekeus returned to talking about the end of '94 and the beginning of '95 files, which haven't been closed but that he knows and we know have been completed. We feared that they would come a second time and find something to use to lengthen their visit. We believe, and I agree, that the fairness we heard will come in this true explanation, one that suits the reality.... When the inspections began there wasn't any biological evidence and they won't be able to submit anything to the contrary. Sir, I believe that sometimes, politically, open clarity is desired and sometimes ambiguity is desired. The leaderships stance is changing towards Ekeus, it's better kept in the dark. What are we going to do [Inaudible] mysterious? We signed and sent a letter and know for certain it arrived. Ekeus wasn't alone. He was in New York with a British spy and a Russian who turned out to be an American spy. The report, which Ekeus and the Special Committee wrote, isn't like the one by Tariq Aziz. He's from the United Nations so that means everyone there will see and read the paper. Ekeus' assistant "Deufler", an American official; he is a United States government employee appointed to the committee. He remembered half of what I told him and he didn't remember the other half. When I asked him, "What do you want to do? We are cooperating with you on article 22 and we could even remove all of the obstacles and losses." Lieutenant General (LT GEN) 'Amar Muhammad Rashid is the head of the military manufacturing committee but he watches over work with roads, bridges, agricultural projects, and irrigation. It's not only his time that gets lost at work; it's also the 100's of workers as well. In regards to us, this equates to money. We are a sanctioned state so, when hundreds of [Inaudible] scientists, administrators, and engineers are meeting your demands all day... every time an inspection team arrives, they go to them and answer their questions [Inaudible]. What do we get out of it if you don't give us our rights? We don't have a reason to continue.

Another thing, they'll do to us whatever they can. Like Mr. Deputy said, the world is not convinced with these excuses. The world is not convinced that Iraq is to blame. Iraq recognized Kuwait's borders and is working with the requirements of the Security Council. So what would you do if we said that's it and we're done? The most America can do is make a decision alone to bomb us. We are used to the missiles and the bombings, we have seen hundreds of thousands of them. This is what the Security Council said we would see. Meaning that the Iraqis will stop working and the Security Council will not take a stand against Iraq. You'll be forced to act alone against Iraq and without international support. So you know the result that can be explained. But keep our position a mystery, a mystery so we can see how beneficial it will be. We'll test Ekeus when we need clarity. Ekeus said in the Security Council meeting that they have the ability to act fast if Iraq presented the information. We will tell him this is our position and it has not changed. I will tell him what I told him the last time, I will tell him, "Thank you, I appreciate the way you're doing things. Don't try to make me happy with the chemicals and missiles and tell me there is no end in sight. This plan that you followed, you said something important in your report and that's what [Inaudible] referred to and when he said the first time that the remaining information will not affect the remaining objective of 687. I gave you information that will lead you to the same conclusion if you are being subjective. I asked you in April if you think Iraq has biological weapons that can be used and you said no. Is this included in your report that the story presented to Iraq needs follow-up? We're with you and you have your place in

Baghdad and the right to look for whatever you want. But go to the Security Council and tell them that the main objective in articles 8, 9 and 10 in resolution 687 that have to do with section 22.” This will be positive, but if he goes back to being shady...

Male 5 Mr. President, I mean in my opinion, what was going on there was something important. It put pressure on us from the international society, which is lead by Ekeus and America, because we have implemented major and essential matters. Also, the chemical and missile file is putting pressure on us because there are a great number of labors working in that field. Therefore, their policy must change. I think... I don't think it's certain that the development that happened was because of their position and pressure. We must continue in the same direction, and take the same stand, even more, actually. Regarding the new matter that they put forth, I mean regarding the new file, did they sense that we might be cooperatives regarding this matter and made Ekeus submit his report? And I think that what's regarding the role of the Russians and French isn't clear, I mean shameful. I always read telegrams saying “to cooperate, to cooperate with us always.” Why didn't they pressure us, one, two, ten, a hundred? Ok, fine. Wasn't there supposed to be a resolution from the Security Council regarding this language? If this is a fact sir, then it isn't clear to me. Also, the talk should be with the heads, and until now, we haven't received an answer from the French brothers regarding the visit of Comrade Tariq and their declarations. We need the support of our friends, and through the Arab community and the Arab countries, to make a stand and make sure that the opening of the new file doesn't take too long. We need this stand position and it shouldn't take more than what's it worth. I believe that our stand position should be more solid and accurate.

Male 1 Comrade Ali.

Male 6 Thank you sir, president. Sir president, we've had an old experiment, about 15 years old. Whoever sees our preparation from 1980 to 1995... their behavior is not far, not short, complete in most cases.

The Americans have a goal. Bush announced it. They have been working on this goal regardless of who's in power. The goal is to control the Arabic oil.

Ekeus didn't change a thing. I think that his report is very positive in regards to our evaluation for the Americans in their view of Iraq and Iraq's regime. According to one of their men or what they conferred about, I consider it something very positive.

The subject of biology, sir president, even if we faced problems... if we don't end this subject that we spoke about, the international community will not be on our side, except for some obstacles here and there, but they won't be on our side like we want them to be, unless we resolve this.

Ekeus might be hoping to make this go on for more than all the years that have passed.

And maybe the Americans will use the veto or approve if they realize that they are alone. It will be clear in the meetings between Comrade Tariq and the committee's director. They make things up to bother us and make us not give them anything. They might tell Comrade Tariq, “You don't count. I came because of your invitation. Give me whatever you have and you can document it. I'm ready to answer them now before I look at the information.”

Maybe this guy is human and we know who he is. We reject the Americans objective and we won't let it happen, we see it through those who we call our friends, through the traitors in our country, and through the Arabs. They know all this; they know how important the Iraqi leadership is to the Iraqi man. It's clear that they don't want to be alone. They know that they might lose if they use the veto. That's why they stopped using this language.

So, in short, may God keep you in power over Iraq. If it wasn't for this determined leadership, we wouldn't have been able to deal with Ekeus. So we should stay the

course, getting the people ready, diplomatic action, and put pressure on George. We have already decided on all of this. There is an agreement on it in the leadership meetings and the council meetings. The instructions you gave the brothers in the political and technical meeting is the right thing to do. Tariq, God gave you the wisdom to manage this difficult situation and it will be resolved.

Male 1 Comrade Foreign Minister, what do you have?

Male 7 Sir, president, commander, just like it was written in the last meeting and the explanation that took place, I need to make some technical observations that might or might not happen based on our knowledge of the people in the Special Committee and how their director Ekeus might act.

We should keep an eye on some of the technical points in the report. It is true that the report included everything that we mentioned, even more than that. There was another important thing expressed in the report. The report that we described to you in the last meeting is that Lt. Gen. Husayn was clearer back in 93. But it wasn't mentioned in the 93 report that Iraq fulfilled its commitments, except the biological ones. The core of the articles 8, 9, and 10.

I mentioned in front of your command, sir president, and commander, that he committed himself now to a true expression of the report.

If the plan for this idea was to close the biological file, it was the main point. It was mentioned for the first time in the report so we should keep an eye on the technical aspects, there were some small technical issues that were considered small and insignificant but came back to haunt us.

So now we have a lot of experience with this subject. We should keep our eye open on this issue. These are the technical points that I suggested we give priority in the last meeting. So God willing when Ekeus comes... So the technical details... So the deputy prime minister... It was mentioned in article 18.

Male 1 You'll face him and be either satisfied with his report or expressing your criticism of his report.

Male 7 First, I'll tell him that his report at the very least was acceptable and it allows us to continue the work but we were hoping it would be a little clearer.

This is like what Lt. Gen. 'Amar said today at national headquarters. From that I want you to give me your opinion and, if you have any questions, before you return to the headquarters. So he told 'Amar let him bring the report. The report arrived at around midnight then we started working again in the morning, Comrade Muhammad and me and 'Amar. At one o'clock I told 'Amar, "You promised that you would inform him, so inform him and say [Inaudible] we read the report. The language used in it isn't the language that you promised Tariq. But it's clear that it has positive elements. We didn't give it to Ekeus until now but we'll say that your report allows us to cooperate with you, but this cooperation requires the same rules mentioned in the report. Because Iraq fulfilled its commitments. We will give you the details of this file and we will deal with it this way. This way we can feel at ease."

The view that comrade Muhammad indicated to me is that the subject of missiles and chemicals are tied to biological. They are in one field. It's a field not as far as you would imagine because there is an armament issue when it comes to missiles and chemical programs. And the chemical is placed in bombs.

They asked if we put biological weapons in the bombs, our answer was no, with an extensive investigation. Our comrades were able to submit sufficient evidence to show that we did not use it.

The tangible evidence that they used, they saw, according to what they explained to us, they saw some bombs that have Asbest [TC: a chemical agent] in them. They said Asbest is used in bombs that have biological materials in them. We explained it to them

and told them there is a stage during the manufacturing of bombs where the material used would contract. Because the raw material, which is mined, is used in the province so we had to use Asbest as a support agent. So they said this scientific analysis is true. So they came and opened this file and we had all the technical responses they needed. We'll say there isn't any biological armament. Biological agents are not used to be put into bombs because we don't need to, because the Iraq-Iran war is over. Before we produced, if there was any work done, it was destroyed before the Gulf War. Subsequently there isn't a need to use bombs because we don't intend on using the weapon. And if we make it and don't use it, it might become dangerous and might pollute.

But the chemical program is known. The president announced on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1990 he said if Israel strikes us with a nuclear bomb we'd hit it with chemical weapons. If we say we have weapons and we're ready to use them in case we must respond, it means we have missiles ready.

Male 1 How do they threaten us with the use of biological weapons if we have weapons?

Male 7 They mean that we have a weapon and a bomb that we can use. [TC: Saddam interjects, "We don't have anything hidden"] And this is part of what we talked about before and I believe that he is convinced of it. He is the only one convinced that we didn't bring it. We brought it for medical things. He's not convinced. He said, "They are bought in Kilos, not tons, for medical purposes." We told him stories about the incompetent Minister of Health that we had. We said, "Don't think that we don't have some idiots, we do..." [TC: Laughter] So the 17 tons were in the hands of the mob. He said, "Great, what's the mob going to do with it?" So I told him, "You don't know the mob." And then 'Amar said, "Come, let me show you a movie." But he said "no". Man, I saw a woman carrying a dentist's chair. Great, this is a dentist's chair. It's not fit to be a chair and it's not fit to be a couch. A mob is a mob.

Male 1 [TC: Joking] they saw a lady carrying a toilet from Basra saying, my gold is in the toilet and I want to take it. [TC: Laughter]

Male 7 ...They weren't able to use it, meaning, we bought 38 tons from the Ministry of Health and stored it somewhere. But logic would ask why we bought that much. Meaning, if you're an expert, it means you understand. You understand that it's possible for only a small amount to be used in medicine.

A number of them said, "Great, if you did buy them for medical use, then why put them in large containers? Usually you put them in small containers of about 100-200 grams from the laboratories." So we blamed it on the Minister of Health. [TC: Laughs]

The recent issues, it happened twice. Once he spoke of a solution like the one Lt. Gen. 'Amar depicted to you, an elegant solution, then he changed his mind. Now he talks about the quick solution, as in the possibility of finding a quick solution. Twice, he committed himself in the council meeting, responding to the British and the press conference. The Russians talked about the report in their memo. The biological issue wasn't resolved, which was opposite of what was stated in Bahrain. They said that this amount could destroy the world four times over. In the report it noted that there was a risk that Iraq could have used some of these things for partial purposes.

Male 1 Yes, Comrade Muhammad

Male 8 ...The same topic that the Deputy Prime Minister talked about. His report and more than once mentioned the Iraqi Military Biological Program. If we wanted to cooperate and reach...